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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921] [831 581]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. 825 [836]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [836]

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From other information obtained how-
ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

MARRIAGE

Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohere'na*.

Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant showed so great abhorrence of the matters would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to brave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

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867
754 If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose.

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

867
584 If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her.
832

867
832 If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way.

867
789 Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests.

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

867
789
787 Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps.

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your [626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my [683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to [754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.
858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the [861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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159 soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next
794 meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I
276 wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the
[788] morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the mid-summer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

§3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [84] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people
867 speak to one another and thus did they hand down these precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[754] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say.

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him.

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not.

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

§8. *Courting*

#159 584 It was at about this time that I desired and tried to court women. I did not, however, know the proper thing to say. The young men always went around at night to court. During the day I used to mix with the women but when evening came I did not know what to say. I had, however, a brother who was a very handsome man and he offered to take me along so that I could learn. One night therefore I went along with him. We went to a girl who was having her menses [841] at the time, a young girl. At such times the girls are accustomed to live apart from the rest of the family. We were very cautious about the whole matter because these girls were always carefully watched by their relatives. The relatives knew that it was customary for the young men to attempt to court the girls then. Now one of the precautions frequently taken was to pile sticks and branches about the lodge so that it would be difficult to enter. If then a person tried to enter one of these lodges he was likely to make some noise moving the branches and thus awaken the people living in the larger lodges near by. They would, of course, run to see what was the matter.

It was to such a place that we went. After working at the obstacles placed near the entrance for some time,

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

my brother succeeded in entering the lodge. I went as close as possible to listen. My brother spoke in an audible whisper so that I could hear. Sure enough, I heard him. However, after lying there for some time I got tired and fell asleep. I began to snore and my brother had to wake me up. Afterwards the girl found out and sent us both away.

After a time I entered the lodges myself. We always had blankets wrapped around us and we took care to have our heads well covered on these occasions.

Sometimes a girl would be acquainted with quite a large number of men and then these would always gather around her lodge at night and annoy her parents a good deal. We would, in fact, keep them awake all night Some of these people kept vicious dogs.

There was one old woman who always watched her daughter carefully on such occasions. It was a long oblong lodge in which the daughter was confined, with just enough room for two persons. The mother of the girl finally decided to sleep with her daughter. Nevertheless we annoyed her all the time just for her meanness. Once we went there and kept her awake practically all night. Just before dawn, however, she fell asleep, so we young men—there were several of us—pulled up the whole lodge, poles and everything, and threw them into the thicket. The next morning the two women were found sleeping in the open, it was rumored, and the mother was criticized for being overcareful.

The reason why some of the older people were careful at that time was because it had been reported that

*159 • 584 some young men had forced themselves into lodges where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself [626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls. [221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

Courting

I used to go out courting and be in the lodges all night and yet, most of the time, I never succeeded in speaking to any of the girls. I did not mind that so much, however, for I was doing it in order to be among the girls. This is what I enjoyed. Indeed I used to go around telling people that I was really keeping company with such and such a girl. I used to say this to my men associates. In reality I did not get much more than a smile from one or two girls. Yet even this I prized as a great thing.

159* 584● [156]

[PM]

§15. *Marriage*

About this time I joined a show and danced. I was always very fond of dancing and now I got a chance to go around and dance all the time and even got paid for it. I had money all the time. The people with whom I went around never saved anything and were always without funds, for they spent all their money on drink. I, however, never drank. After a while I got into the habit of going with these shows every fall. 159* [541]

One fall I did not go and, instead, stayed with my grandfather. He told me to get married. I was about twenty-three years old then. I had courted women ever since I was old enough to do so. Every time I did anything I always thought of women in connection with it. I tried to court as many as I could. I wanted badly to be a beau, for I considered it a great thing. I wanted to be a ladies' man. [584]

My grandfather had wanted me to marry a certain girl so I went over to the place where she was staying. When I arrived there I tried to meet the girl secretly and succeeded in doing so. I told her of my intention of marrying her and asked her to go home with me. Then she went back, for I had met her some distance from her home. 159* 584

After a short time she came back all dressed up and

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
● 584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had bracelets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[309] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her hair red. She was all dressed up.

* 159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I had started that night, because I had been previously asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night and the next morning, and when, early in the morning, I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still there, but soaked through and through from the rain. Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
* 159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grandparents who in return gave her other clothing. After the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep there.

Marriage

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] 159* 586 [584] ● [603]

[P. 129]

*159 195 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were [157] sore and I could not see. They took me back to my house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

[187] One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 [464] Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 ●584 The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

Visions

you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. 159 *
Then he said, 'Come home with me. I have a younger 584 ●
sister; I want her to marry a good man; I would like
to have her marry you." Then I went home with him.
When we reached his home and discussed the matter,
the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.
So there I got married, and what I expected has taken [585]
place and I have lived with her ever since. On one
occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this: 159 *
Before she had married, she had determined that, if 795
she ever got married, she would not care to marry a 585
very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and
who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she
desired and such a person she said I was. She loved
me and she was glad that she had married me. This is
what she had asked God for in her prayers. "And
indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She be-
lieved that it was the will of God that we had done this.
Together we gave ourselves up to the peyote at a meet-
ing. From that time on we have remained members
of the peyote religion.

[p. 197]